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Socialism

Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

1914

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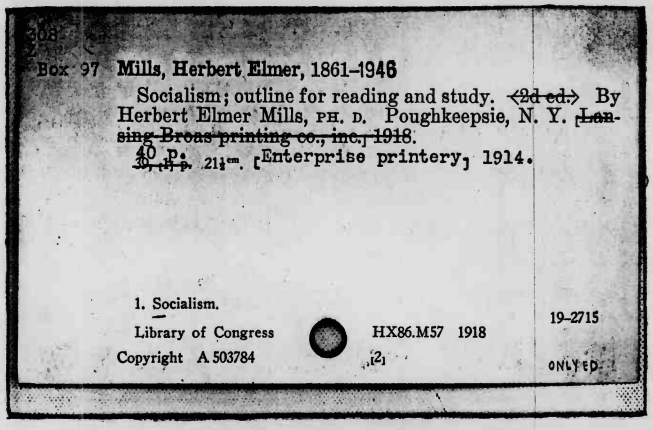
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SOCIALISM

Outline for Reading and Study

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by
HERBERT ELMER MILLS, Ph. D.

POUGHKEEPSIE, NEW YORK

Nineteen Hundred and Fourteen

From
H. E. Mills

SOCIALISM

Outline for Reading and Study

BY
HERBERT ELMER MILLS, Ph. D.

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.
1914

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INTRODUCTORY

CHAPTER I

EVOLUTION OF INDUSTRIAL CLASSES AND FUNCTIONS.

1. Industrial relationships under the "family system."
2. Industrial relationships under the "guild" system.
3. Industrial relationships under the "domestic" system.
4. Industrial relationships under the factory system.
5. The significance of the ever-widening market in producing solidarity of working class interests.
6. Relation of industrial development to the extension of the suffrage.
7. Effect of industrial changes upon class relationships from an ethical point of view.

Required reading. Mills, *Outlines of Economics*, ch. 3, § 7; Seager, *Introduction*, ch. 1; Seligman, *Principles*, pp. 84-95; Adams and Sumner, ch. 1; Bullock, *Selected Readings in Economics*, ch. 5.

Suggested reading. Bücher, *Industrial Evolution*, ch. 4; Toynbee, *Industrial Revolution*, pp. 178-202; Gibbins, *Industry in England*, chs. 20, 21, 23, 24; Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, ch. 8; Brooks, *The Social Unrest*, chs. 3, 4, 5.

CHAPTER II

CONSIDERATION OF THE IDEALLY DESIRABLE.

1. Is the ideal society one of achieved perfection or of progress?
2. "The realization of others' lives is the essential element in the realization of our own." Mackenzie.
3. Goodness, humility, meekness as social ideals *versus* the aggressive superman. "Aggressiveness and service are the two watchwords of progress." Patten.
4. Self-interest *versus* altruistic motives in social arrangements. Competition.
5. The degree and nature of freedom.
6. In what respects is equality desirable?
7. The desirable in an ideal society as to work, production, distribution, consumption.

Required reading. Marshall, *Elements of Economics*, Bk. III., ch. 6, § 3; Seager, *Introduction to Economics*, § 303; Seligman, *Principles of Economics*, §§ 68, 69, 70, 83.

Suggested reading. Patten, The Ideals of Progress, *Survey*, Vol. 26, pp. 387ff; T. H. Green, *Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 370-386; Ritchie, *Principles of State Interference*, pp. 98-108, 139-151; Mackenzie, *Introduction to Social Philosophy*, chs. 4, 5, 6; Hobson, *John Ruskin*, especially chs. 5-10, 13; Ruskin, *Time and Tide, Unto this Last, Munera Pulveris*; Smart, *Studies in Economics*, pp. 217-332; Adams, Social Ministry of Wealth, in *International Journal of Ethics*, Vol. 4, pp. 173-188; Howells, Nature of Liberty, in *Forum*, Vol. 20, pp. 401-409; Equality as the Basis of Good Society, in *Century*, Vol. 51, pp. 63ff; Leslie Stephen, *Social Rights and Duties*, Vol. 1, pp. 175-220; Vol. 2, pp. 95-135; Blatchford, *Merrie England*, chs. 2, 3, 5; Dickinson, *Justice and Liberty*.

PART I

Contemporary Socialism

CHAPTER I

THE SOCIALIST CRITICISM OF THE PRESENT SOCIAL ORDER.

1. Insufficient and wasteful production.
   - *a.* Motive is profit—not the sane satisfaction of wants.
   - *b.* Overproduction.
   - *c.* Underproduction of essential but non-profit-producing commodities and services.
   - *d.* Unemployment.
   - *e.* Adulteration.
   - *f.* Duplication of capital.
   - *g.* Waste in marketing products.
2. Financial fraud and graft.
3. Reaction of production on the worker.
   - *a.* Dependence on capitalist.
   - *b.* Monotony and slavery while he works.
   - *c.* Hours of work.
   - *d.* Danger during work.
   - *e.* Child Labor.
   - *f.* Uncertainty as to the future.
4. Unjust distribution of the wealth produced.
   - *a.* Proportion of rich and poor people.

b. Division of the national dividend between rich and poor.
c. Translation of this diversity of wealth and poverty into terms of life.
d. Inability of the poor to save contrasted with the great fortunes.

5. Comparative death rates of rich and poor.
6. Effect on moral life.
   a. Intemperance.
   b. Immorality.
   c. Selfishness and dishonesty.
7. Effect on family life.
8. Effect on religious life.
9. Effect on legislation and courts.
10. Effect on art.
11. Effect on press.
12. Effect on other professions—law, teaching, preaching, medicine.

Required reading. Skelton, *Socialism: a critical analysis*, ch. 2; The Pittsburg Survey articles in *Charities*, Vol. 21; Platforms of the Socialist Party, 1908, 1912; Spargo and Arner, *Elements of Socialism*, Part I.

Suggested reading. The whole literature of socialism is an attack on the present. There are suggested here a few of the more interesting and authoritative socialist statements of the evils in the present system. Fabian Tract No. 5, *Facts for Socialists*; Webb and others, *Basis and Nature of Socialism*; Sombart, *Das Proletariat*, a brilliant piece of writing; Wells, *New Worlds for Old*, chs. 1-5; Blatchford, *Merrie England*, chs. 1-12; *Labor and Luxury*, chs. 1-8; Ghent, *Our Benevolent Feudalism*, chs. 3-7; Ghent, *Mass and Class*; Hunter, *Poverty*; London, *People of the Abyss*; London, *War of the Classes*; Rauschenbusch, *Christianity and the Social Crisis*, chs. 5, 6; Kelly, *Twentieth Century Socialism*, pp. 53-111; Spargo, *Common Sense of Socialism*, chs. 1-7; Göhre, *Three Months in a Workshop*; Chiozza-Money, *Riches and Poverty*; Reeve, *The Cost of Competition*; Webb, *Difficulties of Individualism*, Fabian Tract No. 69; William Morris, *Signs of Change, Hopes and Fears for Art* and other socialist writings; Crane, *Why Artists are Socialists*, in *Atlantic*, 69: 110; Kirkup, *Inquiry into Socialism*, ch. 3; Bellamy, *Equality*, pp. 1-13, 70-121, 124-143, 157-203, 212-244; Herkner, *Die Arbeiterfrage*, pp. 16-49. The writings of Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, etc.; socialist newspapers, tracts, and campaign books.

CHAPTER II

WHAT SOCIALISM IS.

1. Scientific socialist theory as an explanation and solution of the present social order.

(Critical consideration will follow in part III.)

a. Materialistic conception of history.
b. Evolution of capitalism.
c. Concentration of capital and the dependence of the worker.
d. Theory of labor value.
e. Iron law of wages.
f. Theory of surplus value.
g. Theory of accumulation.
h. Theory of pauperization or progressive misery.
i. The class struggle.
j. Socialization of production.
k. Theory of crises or self-destruction of capitalist society.
l. Inevitability of socialism, i. e., of the social ownership of capital and land.

Required reading. *The Communist Manifesto*; and Hughan, *American Socialism of the Present Day*, ch. 2; *or* Hughan, *The Facts of Socialism*, ch. 5; *or* Kirkup, *History of Socialism*, 4th ed., pp. 136-154; *or* Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, pp. 26-87; *or* Sombart, *Socialism and the Socialist Movement*, pp. 47-63; *or* Simkhovitch, *Marxism vs. Socialism*, ch. 2.

2. Some misconceptions of socialism.

a. Not equal division of wealth.
b. Not the formation of communities.

c. Not communism.
d. Not regimentation of life.
e. Not a plan or scheme.
f. Not merely social reform.
g. Not atheism.
h. Not free love.
i. Not selfishness of lazy people.
j. Not anarchism.

Suggested reading. Hughan, *Facts of Socialism*, ch. 4; Macdonald, *The Socialist Movement*, ch. 7.

3. Society under socialism.

a. No authoritative description of the socialist state is possible. Descriptions of socialist society are simply individual predictions of what it is thought social forces will produce.
b. Transition; the degree of exappropriation.
c. The ownership of wealth under socialism.
d. The methods of wealth production.
e. The methods of exchanging wealth—money, etc.
f. The principles upon which the wealth produced will be divided.
g. The degree of individual economic initiative allowed.
h. The form of government.
i. The ideals of socialism as to political and civil rights.
j. The ideals of socialism as to international relations.
k. The position of women under socialism.
l. The daily routine under socialism—work, recreation, material surroundings, expenditures, etc.

Required reading. Spargo, *Socialism*, ch. 9; Skelton, pp. 177-182; Spargo and Arner, chs. 17, 18, 19, 20; Hughan, *American Socialism*, chs. 9, 10, 11.

Suggested reading. Fabian Essays, Property under Socialism by Graham Wallas and Industry under Socialism by Annie Besant; Ely, *Socialism and Social Reform*, pp. 29-36; Kelly, *op. cit.*, Bk. III.; Hillquit, *Socialism in Theory and Practice*, pp. 29-35, 105-143; Wells, *New Worlds for Old*, chs. 6, 7; *Modern Utopia*; *Socialism and the Family*; Morris, *News from Nowhere*; Gronlund, *Co-operative Commonwealth*; Bellamy, *Looking Backward*; Kautsky, *The Social Revolution*, Part II., on The Day after the Social Revolution; Vandervelde, *Collectivism and Industrial Revolution.*

4. The immediate program of socialism.

a. Attitude toward labor legislation.
b. Attitude toward voluntary social reform movements.
c. Attitude toward political reform.
d. Attitude toward public ownership.
e. Attitude toward trade unionism.
f. Attitude toward co-operation.
g. Attitude toward the feminist movement.
h. Attitude upon internationalism.
i. Attitude toward socio-ethical reform movements.

Required reading. Platform Socialist Party for 1912; and one of the following: Hughan, *American Socialism*, ch. 12; Spargo and Arner, chs. 23, 24; Hillquit, *Socialism in Theory and Practice*, pp. 214-319; Hillquit, *Socialism Summed Up*, ch. 5; Walling, *Socialism As It Is*, deals with this topic and pp. 334-353 on the relation of socialism to trade unionism are especially valuable.

5. Strength and character of the socialist movement.

1. Strength, character and emphasis depends in each country on local industrial and political conditions.
2. Germany.
3. France.
4. England.
5. Other European countries.
6. The United States.

Required reading. One of the following: Kirkup, ch. 13; Skelton, ch. 9; Sombart, pp. 224-279; Herkner, pp. 640-761; Spargo and Arner, Part IV.; Hughan, *American Socialism*, ch. 15.

PART II

Social Movements and Theories

CHAPTER I

BEFORE CHRISTIANITY.

INTRODUCTORY.

Social criticism has been shaped by the economic, political and religious conditions of the age. Hence social reconstructions based on such criticisms reflect such conditions. Until the modern period the system of land holding was the central point.

1. Among the Hebrews.

a. The exodus.
b. Economic and social criticism.
c. Social ideals.
d. The essence of righteousness.

Required reading. Exodus, 1:8-14; 2:23; 5:4-20; 6:5-7; Proverbs, 13:7, 8; Isaiah, 1:10-17, 23; 3:14-25; 5:8, 9; 10:1, 2; Amos, 4:1; 5:11; 8:4-6; 2:6, 7; Leviticus, 19:9, 10; 25 entire; Deuteronomy, 14:28, 29; 15:1-18; 23:24, 25; 24:10-22.

Suggested reading. Rauschenbusch, *Christianity and the Social Crisis*, ch. 1; Adler, *Geschichte des Socialismus and Kommunismus*, Vol. 1, pp. 53-63; Graham, *Socialism New and Old*, pp. 21-25.

2. Among the Greeks.

a. The legislation of Solon.

Consult Encyclopedias and Histories of Greece as Abbott, Holm.

b. The Social ideals of Plato.

1.) Political and social conditions.
2.) The *Republic.*
   a.) Cycle of governmental forms resulting from economic conditions.
   b.) Communism as a basis for social unity.
   c.) Government by the best. The Guardians.
   d.) Birth, education and life of the Guardians.
3.) *The Laws.*
   a.) Agriculture and ownership of the land.
   b.) Commerce and manufactures.
   c.) Marriage and education.
   d.) The government.
4.) Consideration of these ideals.
   a.) His approval of limited wants.
   b.) His view of money and commerce.
   c.) His belief as to possibility of social reconstruction.
   d.) His attitude toward democracy.
   e.) Philosophers as rulers.
   f.) Society and the individual.

Suggested reading. Plato, *The Republic*, especially Bks. III., IV., V.; *The Laws*; Palgrave, *Dictionary of Political Economy*,

article *Plato*; Adler, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 6-46; Maier, *Soziale Bewegungen und Theorien*, ch. 2; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, article *Plato*; Bonar, *Philosophy and Political Economy in Some of their Historical Relations*, ch. 1.

3. The agrarian movement in Rome.

Histories of Rome as Ferrero, How and Leigh, Greenidge, Mommsen, Seignobos-Fairley under *Gracchi*.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL IDEALS OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY AND THEIR CONTINUING INFLUENCE.

1. The social ideals of Jesus.

a. His revolutionary forerunners.
b. Socialist, social reformer or religious teacher?
c. Religion a matter of social righteousness.
d. Relation of man and society.
e. Wealth and life.
f. As to democracy.
g. Was he revolutionary?
h. Communism and social ideals of his immediate followers.

Required reading. *The Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke*; Acts, 2:44, 45; 4:32-35; James, 1:9-11, 27; 2, 14-17; 5:1-6.

Suggested reading. Rauschenbusch, chs. 2, 3; Peabody, *Jesus Christ and the Social Question*, chs. 2, 4, 6; Matthews, *The Social Teachings of Jesus*, ch. 6; Latham, *Was Jesus a Socialist?* Wells, *New Worlds for Old*, pp. 196-199; Wilde, *Soul of Man under Socialism*; Herron, *The Christian Society*; *Between Caesar and Jesus*; Headlam, *Christian Socialism*, Fabian Tract No. 42; Dearmer, *Socialism and Christianity*, Fabian Tract No. 133; Headlam and others *Socialism and Religion*, reprint of Fabian Tracts; Lecky, *Democracy and Liberty*, (N. Y. 1896) vol. 2, pp. 231-233; Adler, pp. 63-77; Graham, pp. 25-29.

2. Social unrest with religious basis.

a. The Peasants' Rebellion in England.
b. Peasant War in Germany.
c. Communism of the Anabaptists.
d. Communistic state in Munster.

Suggested reading. Cheyney, *Social and Industrial History of England*, pp. 111-125; Gibbins, *Industry in England*, ch. 12; Green, *Short History of the English People*, ch. IV., § iv.; Adler, pp. 115-144; Kautsky, *Communism in Central Europe in the Time of the Reformation*, chs. 3, 4; Bax, *Rise and Fall of the Anabaptists.*

CHAPTER III

THE UTOPIA OF SIR THOMAS MORE.

1. Agricultural changes in England in fifteenth century.
2. Indictment of social conditions in England.

a. War and armies. Hunting.
b. Tendencies in agriculture.
c. Causes of crime and treatment of criminal.
d. The idle clergy.
e. Private property.

3. The perfect state.

a. The family. Marriage, divorce, rearing of children, community life.
b. Education.
c. Sanitation. Markets, hospitals.
d. Government.
e. Work—quantity, kinds and sufficiency of product.
f. Property and income.

4. Critical consideration.

a. Wealth and money.
b. Productiveness of labor.
c. Philosophy of wants.
d. Personal gain and family advancement as incentives.
e. Attractiveness of community life.
f. Realization of social perfection.
g. Plasticity of social institutions.

h. Degree of democracy.

i. End of human life and effect of social institutions in helping secure it.

Required reading. *The Utopia.*

Suggested reading. Guthrie, *Socialism before the French Revolution*, chs. 2, 3; Adler, pp. 144-180.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT.

1. Rousseau.

a. Attitude toward property.

b. Influence on the political side of socialism.

c. His radical revolutionary criticism.

Suggested reading. Guthrie, pp. 244-247; Graham, pp. 39-71; Lichtenberger, *Le Socialisme au XVIII, Siècle*, chs. 5, 6.

2. Morelly, 1720—

a. Optimistic philosopher of perfectibility.

b. Private property as the cause of evil.

c. Common ownership of productive agents.

d. Labor obligatory and publicly directed.

e. Basis of distribution.

f. Family and education.

g. Government.

h. Opposition to the prevailing philosophy of self-interest.

Suggested reading. Guthrie, chs. 6, 7; Lichtenberger, *Le Socialisme au XVIII, Siècle*, ch. 4.

3. Baboeuf, 1764—1797.

a. His revolutionary activities.

b. His fundamental principles.

Suggested reading. Guthrie, pp. 289-297; Ely, *French and German Socialism*, ch. 2; Lichtenberger, *Le Soc. et la Rév. Fran.*, ch. 5; Espinas, *La Philosophie Sociale du XVIII Siècle et la Révolution*, ch. 5.

4. Significance of the French Revolution in the history of socialist thought.

Suggested reading. Lichtenberger, *Le Soc. et la Rév. Fran.*, chs. 1, 7, 10.

CHAPTER V

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY UTOPIANS.

1. Increase in socialist propaganda due to industrial changes.

2. Seriousness and nobility of these utopians.

3. Cabet, 1788—1856.

Voyage en Icarie. (1840).

a. Life.

b. Icaria.

c. His teaching.

Suggested reading. Ely, ch. 3; Hillquit, *History of Socialism in the United States*, pp. 121-137; Nordhoff, *Communistic Societies in the United States*, pp. 333-339; Hinds, *American Communities*, pp. 321-354; Prudhommeaux, *Icarie et sa Fondateur Etienne Cabet*, pp. 145-200 on his teaching.

4. Robert Owen, 1771—1858.

A very prolific Writer. *New view of Human Society. The New Moral World. Revolution in the Mind and Practice of the Human Race or the Coming Change from Irrationality to Rationality.*

a. Life and character.

1.) Business success.

2.) The model employer of New Lanark.

3.) Plans for the relief of the poor, (1817).

4.) An advocate of factory legislation.

5.) His American experiments and influence.

6.) System of labor exchanges.

7.) Grand National Consolidated Trades Union.
8.) Later life.

b. His philosophy.
1.) The explanation of human character.
2.) The aim and purpose of human society.
3.) The method of realizing this aim—the Community.
4.) Possibility of social reconstruction.
5.) Method of realization — attitude toward democratic movements.
6.) General significance.

c. Owenistic communities.

Required reading. Kirkup, *History of Socialism*, 4th ed., pp. 58-71; Spargo, *Socialism* ch. 2.

Suggested reading. Hillquit, ch. 2; Potter, *Co-operative Movement*, pp. 12-31, 44-50; Palgrave, articles *Owen* and *Labor Exchange*; Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, pp. 20-26; Bliss, *Cyclopaedia of Social Reform*, article *Owen*; Seligman, in *Political Science Quarterly*, July, 1886; *Dictionary of National Biography* article *Robert Owen*; Podmore, *Robert Owen*; Dolleans, *Robert Owen*; Simon, *Robert Owen*; Jones, *Life of Robert Owen*; Sargant, *Owen and his Philosophy*; Lockwood, *The New Harmony Communities*; Hinds, pp. 126-143; Noyes, *History of American Socialisms*, pp. 30-92; Herkner, *Die Arbeiterfrage*, pp. 564-573.

The Vassar College Library has a large collection of the works of Robert Owen including files of several rare periodicals.

5. Fourier, 1772—1837.

Théorie des quatre Movements. Théorie de l'Unité universelle. Le Nouveau Monde industriel et sociétaire.

a. Life and character.

b. His teachings.
1.) Criticism of present industrial society.
2.) Universality of the law of attraction.
3.) New social arrangements needed to end social chaos.
4.) The *phalange.*

5.) Principle of distribution.
6.) Marriage and position of women.

c. Influence in France.

d. Influence in United States.

Required reading. Kirkup, pp. 31-40; Hillquit, ch. 3; Skelton, *Socialism*, pp. 66-70, 76-80.

Suggested reading. Ely, ch. 5; Graham, pp. 98-106; Bliss, article *Fourier*; Palgrave, article *Fourier*; Reybaud, *Etudes sur les Réformateurs*, ch. 3; Noyes, ch. 18-42; Hinds, pp. 221-254; Frothingham, *George Ripley*, pp. 108-198; Hawthorne, *Blithedale Romance*; Herkner, pp. 576-582.

6. Saint-Simon, 1760—1825, and the Saint Simonians.

Nouveau Christianisme.

a. Life and character.

b. His philosophy.
1.) "Exploitation of the globe by association."
2.) Industrial state guided by scientists.
3.) As to work, equality, pleasure.
4.) Method of change—reform or revolution.
5.) Aim of religion.

c. Development of his views by his followers. Bazard, Enfantin.
1.) Private property as the source of social evils.
2.) Right aim of society.
3.) Method of socializing capital.
4.) Principle of distribution.
5.) The state and government.
6.) The position of women.
7.) The community at Menilmontant.

d. Significance of the Saint-Simonian school in the development of socialist thought.

Required reading. Kirkup, pp. 22-30; Skelton, pp. 70-73, 81-83, 85.

Suggested reading. Ely, ch. 4; Graham, pp. 72-87; Engels, pp. 12-17; Palgrave, article *St.-Simon*; Reybaud, ch 2; Booth, *Saint-Simon and Saint-Simonism*; Weill, *Saint-Simon et son Oeuvre*; Herkner, pp. 573-576.

CHAPTER VI.

CHARACTERIZATION OF UTOPIAN (PRE-MARXIAN) SOCIALISM.

1. Idealistic. Its basis ethical or rationalistic rather than scientific.
2. Inequality of consumable goods rather than the reaction of capital and production was criticised. Hence a difference from modern socialism in policy of socialization.
3. Before the nineteenth century emphasis was laid on the ownership and use of land.
4. Lack of economic basis for social theories.
5. Historical basis of modern socialism was lacking and no conception of social evolution except in case of St. Simon.
6. Firm confidence in the possibility of conscious thorough-going and speedy social reconstruction—the result of a false psychology.
7. Social reconstructions involved much regimentation and interference with liberty.
8. Governments were to be strong and usually not democratic in character.
9. Education was emphasized.
10. The accomplishment of the change to a better society to be brought about by the privileged classes to whom appeals were constantly made.
11. The commune was often although not always the basis of reorganization.

Required reading. Skelton, ch. 4; Sombart, *Socialism and the Social Movement*, pp. 31-40.
Suggested reading. Wells, *New Worlds for Old*, ch. 10; Hillquit, *History of Socialism in the United States*, pp. 15-18.

CHAPTER VII.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE MARXIAN SOCIALIST DOCTRINE.

1. Not solely the thought of Marx.

2. English Ricardian socialists.

Wm. Godwin, Charles Hall, Wm. Thompson, John Gray, J. F. Bray, Thomas Hodgskin.

a. Natural product of the classic land of capitalism.
b. Their principles based on Ricardian economics.

Required reading. Spargo, pp. 201-208.
Suggested reading. Menger, *The Right to the Whole Produce of Labor* with Professor Foxwell's introduction.

3. Louis Blanc, 1813—1883.

Organisation du Travail, 1839.

a. Criticism of competition as leading to concentration.
b. Democracy as a means to social reform.
c. Plan of state-aided co-operative associations.
d. Principle of distribution.
e. National Workshops of 1848.
f. Although transitional, he had influence in making socialism political and proletarian.

Required reading. Sombart, pp. 50 and 74; Skelton, pp. 12, 13; Kirkup, pp. 43-50.
Suggested reading. Ely, ch. 6; Graham, pp. 106-115; Morris and Bax, *Socialism: its Growth and Outcome*, pp. 226-229; Haney, *History of Economic Thought*, pp. 337, 338; Herkner, pp. 583-585.

4. Proudhon, 1809—1865.

Qu'est que la Propriété? 1840. *Système des Contradictions économiques ou Philosophie de la Misère.*

a. Personality.

b. His teachings as to property, value, distribution, possibility of social reconstruction, government.

c. His influence on the development of socialist doctrines.

d. His influence on the development of anarchism.

Required reading. Kirkup, pp. 51-57.

Suggested reading. Ely, ch. 7; Morris and Bax, pp. 218-223; Bliss, article *Proudhon*; Haney, pp. 338-341; Herkner, pp. 585-591.

5. Rodbertus, 1805—1875.

Zur Erkenntniss unserer staatswirthschaftlichen Zustände. Der Normal Arbeitstag.

a. Character and ability.

b. Economic teaching—value, wages, crises.

c. Stages in social evolution.

d. His position as to solution, government and the state.

Required reading. Kirkup, ch. 6.

Suggested reading. Ely, ch. 9; Dawson, *German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle*, ch. 3; Haney, pp. 378-382; Laveleye, *The Socialism of Today*, ch. 3; Andrews in *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 1, p. 50 on Rodbertus' Socialism; Gonner, *The Social Philosophy of Rodbertus*; Herkner, pp. 591-598.

6. Karl Marx, 1818—1883.

Communist Manifesto (with Engels), *1848. Misère de la Philosophie. Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie, 1859. Capital, 1867-1894.*

a. Life.

b. Teachings.

(Substantially the theory of scientific socialism as given in Part I., ch. II.)

c. Position and influence.

Required reading. Spargo, pp. 62-74, 208-221, 326, 334; Kirkup, ch. 7; Sombart, pp. 50-63.

Suggested reading. Ely, ch. 10; Skelton, pp. 95-103, 115-120, 137-140, 171-174; Haney, pp. 383-387; Russell, *German Social Democracy*, Lecture 1; Rae, *Contemporary Socialism*, ch. 4; Spargo, *Karl Marx*; Dawson, *German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle*, ch. 4; Laveleye, *op. cit.*, ch. 4; Palgrave, *op. cit.*, article *Marx*. Literature upon Marx is enormous.

7. Friedrich Engels, 1818—1896.

Socialism Utopian and Scientific. Condition of the Working Classes in England in 1844. Communist Manifesto (with Marx).

8. Ferdinand Lassalle, 1825—1864.

Workingmen's Programme. Open Letter. Bastiat-Schulze.

a. Life and character.

b. Teachings.

1.) Social evolution.
2.) Role of the State.
3.) Law of wages.
4.) Immediate program.

c. Influence on German socialist movement.

Required reading. Kirkup, ch. 5.

Suggested reading. Haney, pp. 382, 383; Russell, Lecture 2; Dawson, *German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle*, ch. 5-11; Rae, ch. 3; Ely, ch. 12; Palgrave, article *Lassalle*; Zangwill, *Dreamers of the Ghetto*, the chapter Savior of the People; Bernstein, *Ferdinand Lassalle as a Social Reformer.*

CHAPTER VIII

RECENT SOCIALIST TENDENCIES.

1. Fabianism.

a. The society and its membership.
b. Attitude toward Marxian socialism.
c. Attitude toward
  1.) Revolution.
  2.) Democracy.
  3.) Class struggle and compromise.
  4.) Ownership of land and capital.
  5.) Individual initiative.
  6.) Wages system.
d. Its tactics of administrative socialism and permeation.
e. Influence of this society.

Required reading. Skelton, pp. 287-290; Kirkup, pp. 329, 330, 400, 401, 427, 428; *fifth edition*, pp. 365-397.

Suggested reading. Fabian Essays, very important; Fabian Tract, No. 70, *A report on Fabian Policy*, very important; Fabian Tract, No. 41, Shaw, *The Fabian Society What it has done and how it has done it*; Fabian Tract No. 51, Webb, *Socialism True and False*; Wells, *op. cit.*, ch. 12; *Cyclopaedia of Social Reform* article *Fabian Society*; *Fabian Tracts* in general; Webb and others, *The Basis and Policy of Socialism.*

2. Revisionism in Germany.

a. Bernstein and English influence.
b. Opposition to the doctrine of the inevitability of socialism.
c. Opportunist tendency.

d. Views as to the administrative capacity of the working class.
e. Contemporary tendencies.

Required reading. Skelton, pp. 250-252; Kirkup, pp. 314-315.

Suggested reading. Harrison, *Socialism and Bernstein* in *Fortnightly Review*, 77:128 (Jan. 1902); Kleene, *Bernstein vs. Old School Marxism* in *Annals American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 18:391; Bernstein, *Social Democracy in Germany*, in *International Quarterly*, 8:175 (Sept. 1903); Bernstein, *Evolutionary Socialism*; Walling, *Socialism as It Is*, index, under Germany and Kautsky; contemporary periodical literature.

3. The Reformist Movement in France.

Opportunism; cabinet participation; Trade unionism.

Suggested reading. Hunter, *Socialists at Work*, ch. 3; Ensor, *Modern Socialism*, chs. 12, 14; Jaurès, *Studies in Socialism*; Walling, index under France and Jaurès.

CHAPTER IX

SYNDICALISM.

1. Its origin and spread.
2. Its criticism of orthodox socialism.
3. The trade union as a method of revolution and as the future basis of society.
4. The general strike as a method.
5. The method of sabotage.
6. Its anti-militarist policy.
7. The Industrial Workers of the World.

Required reading. Skelton, pp. 267-282; Kirkup, *fifth ed.*, pp. 280-305.

Suggested reading. Sombart, pp. 98-128; Spargo, *Syndicalism, Industrial Unionism and Socialism*; Walling, *Socialism as It Is*, pp. 354-400; Bohn, The Industrial Workers of the World in *The Survey*, vol. 28, pp. 220-225; Sumner, The Parting of the Ways in American Socialism in *The Survey*, vol. 29, pp. 623-630; Hunter, *Violence and the Labor Movement*, pp. 229-275. Many articles have appeared in contemporary periodicals and there is a collection of French syndicalist literature in the Vassar College Library.

PART III

The Argument for and against Socialism

CHAPTER I

CONSIDERATION OF THE MARXIAN ARGUMENT.

1. The materialistic conception of history.

a. Argument for the socialist view.

b. The argument against.

c. Effect of limiting or qualifying this doctrine on the argument for the inevitability of socialism.

Required reading. Spargo, ch. 4; Skelton, ch. 5; Spargo and Arner, ch. 9; Hughan, *American Socialism*, ch. 4.

Suggested reading. Simkhovitch, *Marxism vs. Socialism*, ch. 3; Seligman, *Economic Interpretation of History*, especially Part II.; Ghent, *Mass and Class*, ch. 1; Bernstein, *Evolutionary Socialism*, pp. 6-18; Sombart, pp. 89-97; LeRossignol, *Orthodox Socialism*, ch. 7; Bax, *Essays in Socialism: New and Old*, pp. 1-18; Herkner, pp. 611-619.

2. Law of concentration and accumulation.

a. Socialist argument.

b. The alleged tendency of the middle class.

c. Terms concentration, control and ownership to be distinguished.

d. Tendency to concentration not universally shown.

e. Does concentration inevitably result in public ownership?

Required reading. Spargo and Arner, ch. 14; Spargo, ch. 5; Skelton, pp. 155-167.

Suggested reading. Simkhovitch, chs. 4, 5; LeRossignol, pp. 127-131; Sombart, pp. 74-76, 82-84; Bernstein, pp. 40-73; Seligman, *Principles of Economics*, pp. 329-344; Vail, *Principles of Scientific Socialism*, ch. 1.

3. Theory of labor value and surplus value.

a. Statement of the labor value theory.

b. The error in the labor value theory.

c. The true explanation of value.

d. The surplus value theory.

e. The real nature of this surplus.

f. The effect of competition on this surplus.

g. The question of monopoly profits.

h. Significance of these theories and their rejection to the Marxian and general socialist argument.

Required reading. Spargo, ch. 8; Skelton, ch. 6; Spargo and Arner, chs. 12, 13; Hughan, *American Socialism*, ch. 6.

Suggested reading. Simkhovitch, ch. 12; LeRossignol, chs. 2, 4; Vail, *Principles of Socialism*, chs. 2, 3; Bernstein, pp. 28-40; Kirkup, *History*, pp. 154-158; Seligman, *Principles*, § 157; Seager, *Introduction*, § 292; Haney, pp. 386-390; Böhm-Bawerk, *Karl Marx and the Close of his System*; Herkner, pp. 619-624, 632-635.

4. Iron law of wages.

a. Its origin.

b. The statement of the law by Lassalle.

c. Error in this statement.

d. Effect of this change of view on the argument for the necessity of socialism.

Required reading. Kirkup, *History*, pp. 77, 103-107; Spargo, pp. 261-266.

Suggested reading. Lassalle, *Open Letter.*

5. Theory of progressive misery.

a. Relation of this theory to the preceding doctrines.

b. Progress in condition of the working classes. Wages, hours, housing conditions, conveniences and comforts, statistics of consumption; health and life; conditions surrounding employment; freedom of movement, of association, of employment, from ignorance.

c. Conclusion and bearing on argument for inevitability of socialism.

Required reading. Skelton, pp. 146-154; Spargo, pp. 137-150, 262-265.

Suggested reading. Simkhovitch, chs. 6, 7; Webb, *Labor in the Longest Reign*, also published as Fabian Tract No. 75; Adams and Sumner, ch. 13; Bernstein, pp. 40-73; *Socialist Party Platform*, 1908; LeRossignol, chs. 3, 8; Marshall, *Elements*, Bk. 6, ch. 12; Bosanquet, *Standard of Life*, pp. 1-66, 191-214.

6. Theory of the class struggle.

a. Statement of the doctrine.

b. The degree of truth in this doctrine.

c. Has working class progress been due to class conscious struggle?

d. Inconsistency of the doctrines of pauperization and necessity of working class supremacy.

e. Does the necessity of class-conscious struggle mean annihilation of other classes and social ownership of land and capital?

Required reading. Skelton, pp. 107-114; Spargo and Arner, ch. 11; Hughan, *American Socialism*, ch. 5; Spargo, ch. 6.

Suggested reading. Simkhovitch, ch. 9; LeRossignol, ch. 8; Sombart, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-63; Ghent, *Mass and Class*, ch. 2; London, *The Class War.*

7. Conclusion as to the Marxian doctrine of the inevitability of socialism.

Required reading. Hughan, *American Socialism*, ch. 8.

Suggested reading. Simkhovitch, ch. 13.

CHAPTER II

IS SOCIALISM DESIRABLE AND POSSIBLE?

1. The effect of socialism on production of wealth.

a. The efficiency of a socialist organization and management on wealth production.

b. The effect of socialism upon the efficiency of the individual. Self-interest *versus* other incentives.

c. The accumulation of capital under socialism.

d. The possibility of eliminating crises and unemployment.

e. Agricultural efficiency under socialism.

f. The elimination of middlemen and other alleged wastes.

g. The assignment of unpleasant work.

2. The possibility of determining values regardless of supply and demand.

3. Distribution under socialism.

a. Is economic inequality bad?

b. The results of equality in distribution.

c. The results of distribution according to needs.

d. The results of distribution according to deserts.

e. If the present distribution, under which these three bases are combined, is unsatisfactory, does improvement pre-suppose any fundamental reorganization of our economic and political system?

f. The rewards of intellectual achievement under socialism—in economic fields, science, literature and art.

4. Consumption under socialism.

a. Would socialism result in a more rational satisfaction of needs?

b. The assignment of scarce and desirable commodities.

5. Administration and government under socialism.

a. The possibility of efficient public administration of industrial affairs under socialism.

b. The possibility of obtaining efficiency in control, i. e., of eliminating log-rolling, politics, corruption, favoritism, demagogism.

c. The concentration of criticism on the central administration.

6. General considerations.

a. Liberty and individuality.

b. Freedom of speech and the press.

c. Culture and art.

d. The question of overpopulation.

e. The maintenance of the family.

f. Ethical results.

Discussion of these debated topics is found throughout both socialist and economic literature. They envolve knowledge not only in these lines of thought but in all that pertains to human nature and social experience. A few references follow, but careful independent reflection is at least as desirable as reading.

Required reading. Skelton, ch. 8.

Suggested reading. Ely, *Socialism and Social Reform*, pp. 113-249; Kelly, pp. 36-52; Vail, *Principles*, chs. 4, 5; Vail, *Modern Socialism*, ch. 14; Spargo and Arner, ch. 25; Spargo, *Common Sense of Socialism*, ch. 10; Blatchford, *Merrie England*, chs. 13-24; Wells, *New Worlds for Old*, chs. 8, 9; *Case Against Socialism*, chs. 6-17; Bliss, *Handbook of Socialism*, ch. 15; Bellamy, *Equality*; Hobson, *The Social Problem*, Part II., ch. 6; Spargo, *Spiritual Significance of Socialism*; Wells, *Socialism and the Family*; Gonner, *The Socialist State*; Taussig, *Principles of Economics*, chs. 64, 65; Flint, *Socialism* (2nd ed.) chs. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11; Macdonald, *The Socialist Movement*, ch. 9.

CHAPTER III

SOME FINAL CONSIDERATIONS.

1. Correctness and proportion of the socialist criticism, "Illusion of the near."
2. Results of private property and competition.
3. The degree to which economic organization may be held responsible for social evils.
4. The present order not one of extreme individualism.
5. Even though one agree wholly with the socialist indictment, does it follow that the only substitutional form of social control is public ownership and management of capital?

Required reading. Skelton, ch. 3.
Suggested reading. Skelton's references on p. 315.

PART IV

Laissez-Faire Individualism
The Antithesis of Socialism

CHAPTER I

THE POSITIVE ARGUMENT FOR INDIVIDUALISM, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND COMPETITION.

1. The anti-socialist is not merely on the defensive but ardently advocates the fundamental institutions to which the socialist objects.

2. The argument for private property.

a. Tendency of historical evolution.
b. Some results of the development of private property.
c. These results still continue.
d. A necessary incentive to industry.
e. Private property essential to individual development.

3. The argument for competition.

a. The argument from evolutionary progress.
b. Competition increases production of wealth.
c. It lowers cost of production and prices.
d. It encourages invention, industry and thrift.
e. It ensures fair prices to consumer and producer.

f. "It reduces the gains of the inefficient and makes profit depend on low prices."

g. "It harmonizes the interests of the individual and society by making the success of the one depend on what he can accomplish for the other." Seligman.

h. Tends to secure equitable and advantageous distribution.

Suggested reading. Seligman, *Principles*, chs. 9, 10, 11; Hadley, *Economics*, ch. 10; Hadley, *Freedom and Responsibility*, ch. 5; Palgrave, *Dictionary of Political Economy*, articles *Competition*, and *Individualism*; Bastiat, *Harmonies of Political Economy*, ch. 10; Nicholson, *Principles of Political Economy*, vol. 3, pp. 175-220; Donisthorpe, *Individualism*, chs. 3, 6, 11; Mackay, *A Plea for Liberty*, especially Introduction and chs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 12 although all are pertinent; Sumner, *What Social Classes Owe Each Other*; Bliss, *Cyclopaedia of Social Reform*, article *Individualism*; Gilman, *Socialism and the American Spirit*, chs. 1, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11; the works of W. H. Mallock.

4. The argument for the present system of distribution.

a. As regards interest on capital.

b. As regards profits of managers.

c. As regards rent of land.

d. As regards wages.

Suggested reading. Smart, *Problems of Distribution*, Bk. II., chs. 1-13; Bolen, *Getting a Living*, chs. 1, 2, 3; Adams, *Finance*, §§ 41, 42; Hadley, *Economics*, pp. 127-131, 113-119; Bax and Levy, *Socialism and Individualism*, pp. 65-155.

CHAPTER II

OBJECTIONS TO STATE ACTION.

1. Interferes with liberty.
2. Weakens character and causes dependence.
3. Tends to bureaucracy, routine and lack of initiative.
4. Causes political corruption.
5. Class interests promoted at expense of community.
6. Gives rise to log-rolling and courtesy to the disadvantage of the common good.
7. Lacks the constant test of utility found in private business.
8. Collective action interferes with natural selection.
9. It increases the power of the government and forms habits of interference with the individual.
10. It is based on the idea that society is made.

Suggested reading. Spencer, *Social Statics*; Spencer, *Man versus the State*; Mackay, *A Plea for Liberty*; Mill, *Political Economy*, Bk. V., ch. 11.

CHAPTER III

CONSIDERATION OF THESE ARGUMENTS.

1. Reply to the argument for private property.

a. Socialism does not propose to abolish private property in general but only private property in capital and land.

b. Private property in capital and land have been beneficial historically but under the present industrial organization conditions have changed.

c. There is not and never has been a private property right not subordinate to social welfare. In the last century the more complicated social organization has necessitated constant restriction of the property right.

d. Even if income is a necessary incentive to industry, private property rights to land and capital do not follow.

2. Reply to the argument for competition.

a. Evolutionary progress has been the result of co-operation as well as of competition. Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid.*

b. Co-operation produces more wealth than competition which wastes.

c. The cost of competition increases prices.

d. Competition kills and discourages.

e. While much might be said for competition on the assumption of equality of opportunity, it is evident that inequality of opportunity due to private property, inheritance and other social institutions invalidates the argument.

f. Since competition has been largely destroyed by combination, arguments for it are largely irrelevant to modern conditions.

3. Reply to the argument for the present system of distribution.

a. Actual conditions are against theory.

b. It is based on the false premise of the existence of universal competition.

c. It is based so far as wages go upon an assumption of equal opportunity.

d. There are many peculiarities in the action of demand and supply with regard to labor. Marshall, Bk. VI., ch. 4.

CONCLUSION

1. There are few who assent to Socialism in its extremer and most uncompromising form.

2. There are still fewer who assent to *laissez-faire* individualism in its extreme form.

3. As each of these attitudes is qualified and moderated it gains adherents.

4. Except for a few extremists on either wing, the question will be: What combination of individual liberty and social control will best secure that freedom in its broadest sense which is the purpose of society?

5. The answer to this will depend upon conditions of time, place and circumstance.

6. Hence the determination of social policy will be formed by decisions upon concrete specific problems. In arriving at such decisions, historical experience, general considerations relative to the advantages of individual liberty and social control, and the particular conditions of each problem must be examined.

7. There is then no universal answer to the question of socialism and *laissez-faire*.

8. The problem of improving the condition of the working-class (The Labor Problem) is to be solved by a consideration of all the influences that may be brought to bear to that end. It is consequently a question of the effect on the working-class of moral reform, of philanthropy, of trade unionism, of social legislation, of co-operation, of immigration, of the changing position of women.

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